InDu Boia E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

Lindow ravine below the valley floor. These villagers played a smaller 36/162
part than the others in my observations.

On the western side of the valley are three closely allied villages with contiguous boundaries: Dikinge (both the old and new sites) and its hamlet of Malyamnang with a population of 114, Alurkuwei with 93 people, and Kariera with 56. The remaining 30 of the approximate total of six hundred people on the valley floor and adjacent slopes occupy isolated field houses or are quite constantly absent on visits to other communities.

Although the villages are not rigorously stereotyped in ground plan, 36/
a general description can be given that covers the main features of all of them. Each village has from one to seven dance places, the number being roughly equivalent to the number of patrilineal lineages (*biets*). On each dance place is located at least one of the large lineage houses (*kadang*), which is occupied by one branch only of the lineage. Around the edge of the dance place are the flat gravestones of the prominent dead of the community. From one dance place to another runs a narrow trail, along which other houses are sometimes strung.

Each village has a "head" and a "tail," where property is located a carving of the village guardian spirit (*alenai*). The gardens and fields run to the very eaves of the houses, and during the rainy season corn and tobacco frequently screen the houses from each other. The fields then spread outward to spots an hour or more distant from the main village. Throughout these fields are temporary shelters, which are in- [p.4]
habited at the convenience of the owners. The tendency to decentralize habitation has undoubtedly been encouraged by the cessation of head-hunting in the last twenty years.

It is not necessary here to go into detail concerning either the social 36/
implications of village planning or the structure and types of houses. 41/3
Neither of these aspects of living is rigorously formalized — a statement 391
that holds true for almost all phases of Ainwbang life. However, a general picture is necessary for orientation. The lineage houses and dance places are manifestations of a primarily patrilocal residence and the basis of social clusterings. The outward expression of such social groupings around the lineage house are the other low pretentious buildings (*fale* and *nafa*), the guesthouse (*nang nafa*), and various spirit sheds of the family group.

The larger houses of the kadang and fale types are pyramidal thatched 39-2
structures raised on four piles protected by massive wooden disks, which prevent rats from climbing up the posts into the house. Beneath each house is a low verandah generally used for lounging but sometimes also

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

342 for feast cooking. Alongside, but still under the overhanging eaves, is
[347] the pigpen. From the verandah a ladder leads up through a hatchway into a corridor, and from the corridor a doorway with a high threshold opens into the main living room under the eaves. The right half of the room, as one enters, is called the woman's half and the left, the man's. The latter is on slightly longer posts, so that there is an imperceptible slant to the floor, but there is no functional difference in the use of the two halves of the house.

Above the living room are two lofts in which rice baskets and corn bundles, as well as some valuables, are stored. Paralleling the entrance corridor, on the opposite side of the living room and above the pigpen, is another corridor, which is used as a privy. The flooring throughout is made of slabs of split bamboo laid across widely spaced rafters, so that it squeaks and sags as one moves.

354 The living room itself is divided down the center by a long, rec-
352 tangular hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame. Along the two sides of the room where there are no doors, shelves are built under the eaves. These are used for storage and sometimes as sleeping balconies.
513 Usually, however, the sleeping as well as the cooking is done in the main room. At night pandanus sleeping mats are spread on the floor with one end free to be pulled over the sleeper. Additional warmth is secured by having a sleeping partner and by keeping the fire going.
342 The bamboo rafters and walls of the room are blackened with soot
354 from a fire that smolders day and night. The air is close with smoke and the odor of human beings. In addition, the interior is so dark that it usually takes a few seconds to adjust one's eyes to the gloom when one comes in from the sunlight.

352 In each house there generally lives a biologic family supplemented
401 from time to time by other kin, bilaterally reckoned. In direct address the tendency is to equate all kin of the same generation, however remote, with siblings, all kin of the ascending generation with parents, and all the descending generation with children. The kinship system is of the simple Hawaiian type. There are three major kin groups whose
415 existence is not reflected in the nomenclature. First, there is the patrilineal lineage called hieta plus a personal name prefix—Lethieta or Maughieta for instance. There are about fifteen of these in the Atimelang district. No major village, excluding dependent hamlets, has less than three or more than seven. Descendants of the eldest brother in a lineage are grouped together under the term Eldest House (*fing fala*); descendants of the youngest brother are called the Youngest House

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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Weaving a house wall of split bamboo. Similar strips are used for flooring on bamboo crossbeams.

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Pulling in a floor beam.

[p. 32 D]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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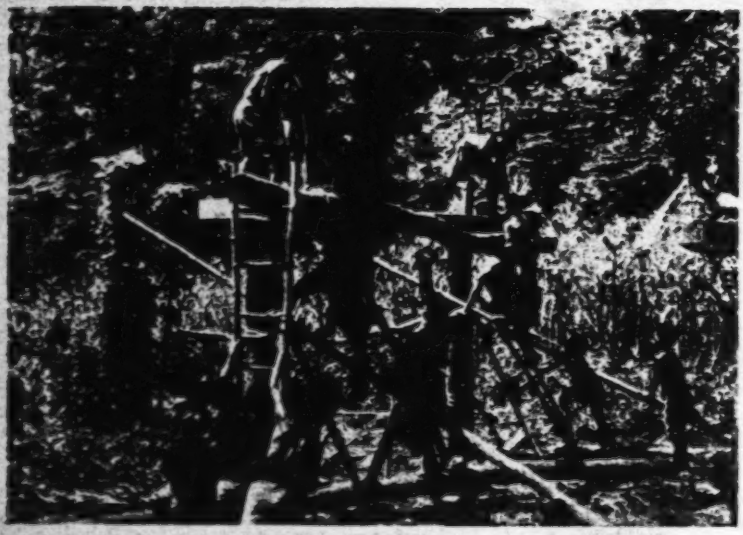

Placing a floor beam on the house posts. Note the rat disks like wooden collars on the house posts.

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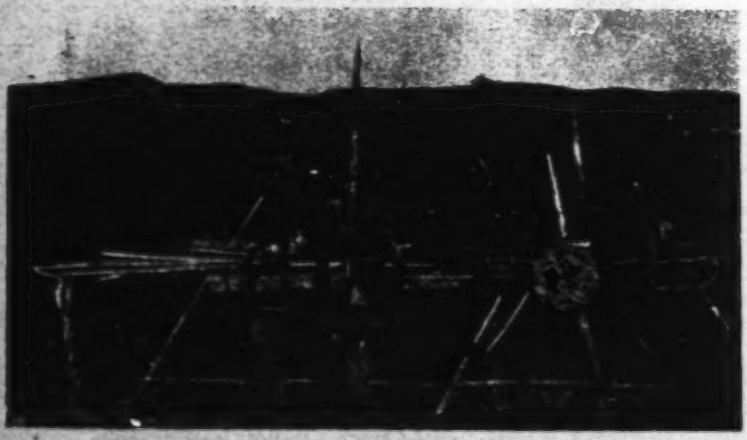

Laying the floor beams of a large lineage house.

[p. 32 E]

l:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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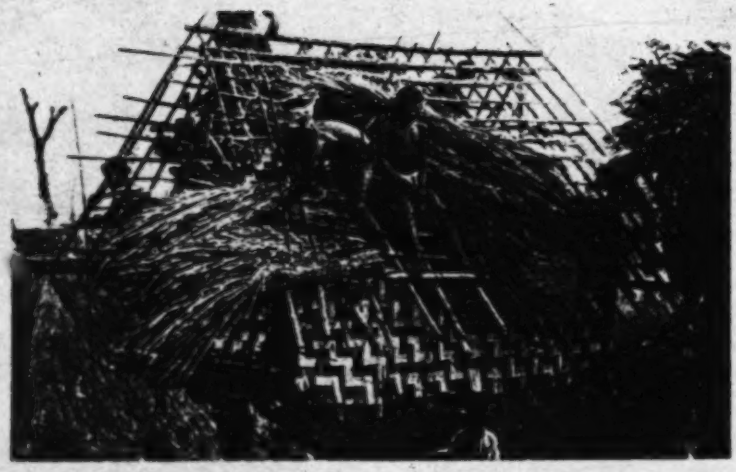
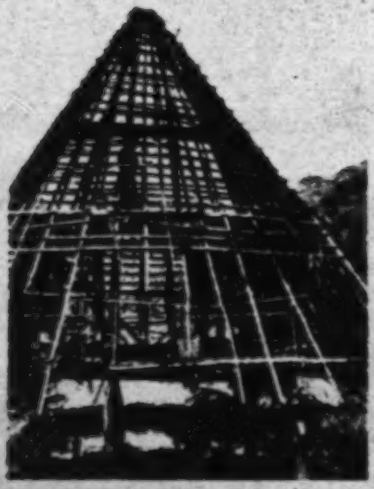
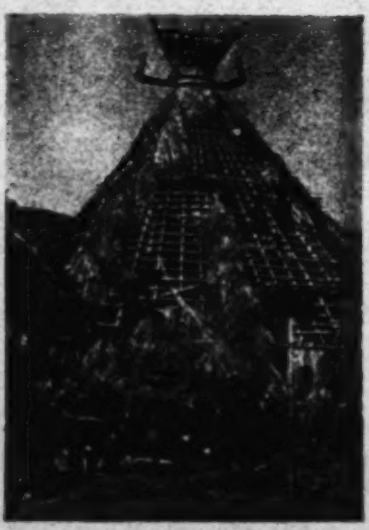


Thatching the roof of a field house.



Frame of an old house about to be dismantled. The lowest story is the living room; the two upper ones are for food storage.



Thatching the roof of a large lineage house. Note the gongs, which are played at intervals during the course of the work.

[p.32 F]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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A rice-pounding bee several days before a death feast payoff.

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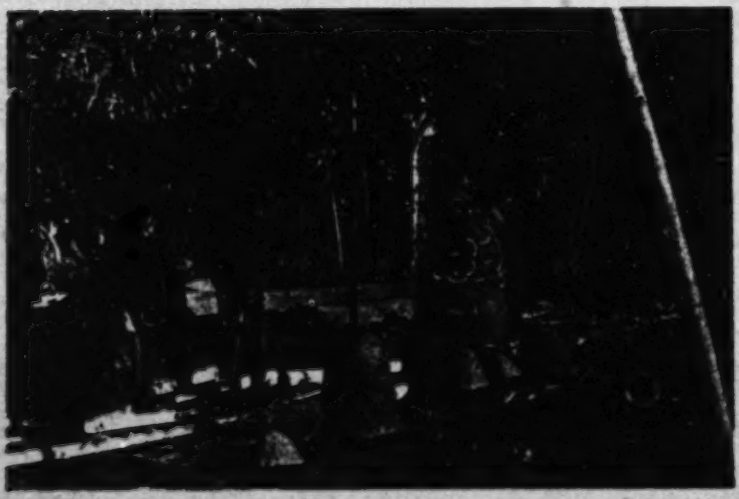

The largest rice cones of two ceremonial seasons, prepared for a lineage house-building feast.

[p. 32 H]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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The Alorese prize mokos above everything else. Here the top of one is being fastened on with rattan strips and pieces of corncob.

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His young sister in a carrying shawl, a boy accompanies on the gongs the communal work of building a lineage house.

(p. 30 R)

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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In the morning three or four men butcher the pigs that will be used in the house-building feast that afternoon.

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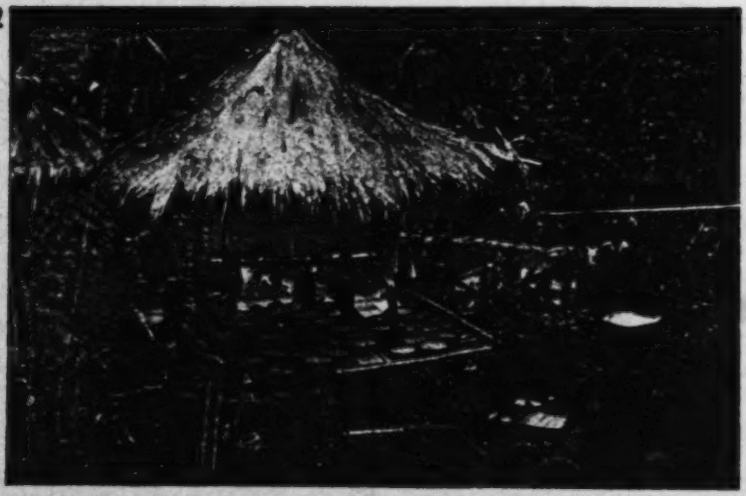
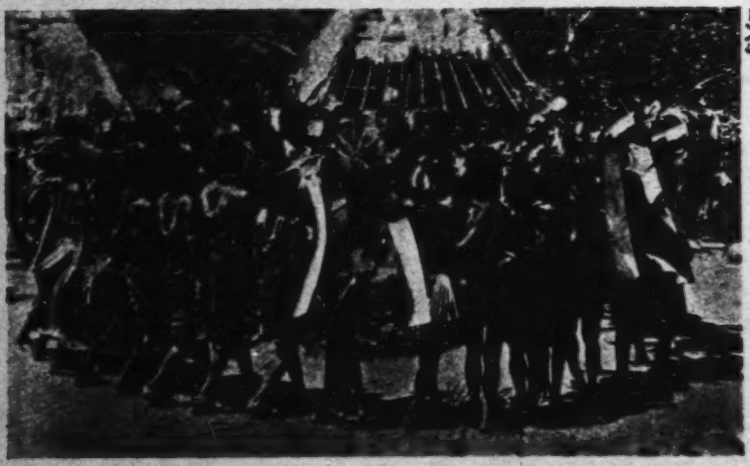


In the late afternoon each woman brings her basketry platter of food to display at a house-building feast. Each ceremony has its preferred style of food display.

[p 32T]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

The third morning of a divorce debate.



The people of Atimelang prefer their circle dances (*lego-lego*) to last from dusk to dawn. Dandies wear tubular headdresses and carabao parrying shields. As the group circles in unison men and women try to slip inconspicuously into the circle next to their favorite partners.

Cp. 32 y 7

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

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One of the most elaborate carvings of Atimelang is the ancestral beam of the lineage house Tilalawati in Folafeng. It was carved recently for the new structure. The white figures were chalked to bring them out in the photograph.

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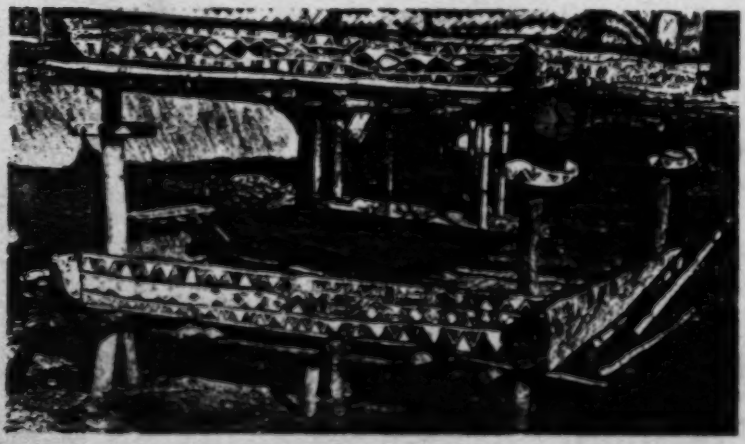

The most elaborately decorated familiar spirit house of Atimelang belongs to Fanseni Longhair.

[p. 32 2]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

ternal uncle, to emphasize his point, picked up Talfani and started back 593
to his village with her. The father flew into a rage and the child was 586
fought over by the two men. When the father finally secured the child, 155
he held her tightly in his arms all morning. Talfani's care had been primarily entrusted to her maternal grandmother, and when the grandmother finally left with her brother, the child wept so insistently to go with her that the father, with obvious reluctance, finally surrendered the child.

There was a similar situation when Nicolas divorced his first wife, by whom he had two sons, one about five years old and the other approximately two and a half. The father had had very little contact with the children, since he was away most of the time. On the other hand, for an Alorese parent, the mother had been particularly indulgent and fond. At the time of the divorce there were days of violent and public recrimination between the parents, which ended finally in the surrender of both children to the father and the departure of the mother to a distant village, where she was to marry another man.

Obviously all children are not exposed to such potentially traumatic 155
and affectionally disorienting situations, but practically no child escapes being witness to such occurrences. In the autobiographies there are a number of anecdotes demonstrating the skill children develop in playing one parent off against the other. The result of all this must be that the child is robbed of a sense of security and stability by being deprived of the opportunity to form a pattern of stable relationships.

RESIDENCE

Mobility of residence is another factor that may contribute to a 361
child's sense of instability. During early childhood such a sense of insta- [155]
bility may begin to take form and it will be emphasized by later repetition. The autobiographies give the most graphic picture of constant moving from house to house, village to village, and village to field. It is true that these moves are always within a circumscribed orbit. The result may be that a person becomes familiar with a landscape rather than with a residence.

Alorese houses are perishable. A field house rarely lasts more than [342]
two seasons. A village house of the fala type may last five or six years, a lineage house (*kadang*) somewhat longer. No one place of residence is constantly occupied for any great length of time. Even within the yearly agricultural cycle a family is apt to move back and forth between a village house and a field house.

The child's escape from irksome home life by changes of residence 155

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all singularly crude, and no value is attached to them once they have been used for sacrificial purposes. It is not unusual to see these "sacred" carvings lying on the ground rotting away. (It was always considered a windfall to be able to sell me one. Also, I found it impossible to appeal to pride in order to procure good specimens for the museum collection I was making, and only by repeatedly refusing to pay for the poor ones did I get better examples of handicrafts.)

Although they are capable of building large and imposing houses, about a third of the houses were of the shed or field-hut type, which can be thrown together in a few days. Even an imposing new lineage house will have the edges of its thatch torn to shreds within a year by its owners, who pull out a handful whenever they want a torch at night. As I have already indicated, tattooing and tooth blackening are so unskillfully done that they fail frequently to be permanent. Basketry is of the simplest sort, with a minimum of overlay decorations. The Atimelangers have never acquired the arts of weaving known on the coast, of pottery produced in villages not two hours away, or of *cire perdue* casting known in the eastern part of the island. This is true despite the fact that they know the processes fairly well, and there are no taboos or restrictions that I could discover against the practice of such crafts.

Their mythology is confused and unstructuralized. Their knowledge of genealogies is so deficient that many individuals do not know their more remote Male House kin. Ceremonial procedure is almost always a source of fumbling and of heated argument as to proper procedure. In respect to some of these items, it is possible that they represent newly or partially introduced features which were not clearly understood in the first place, or else features that were survivalistic. Regardless of the possible historical situation, the fact remains that little is done by way of elaboration and integration, and no effort is made to master the resources of the environment.

From the point of view of depth psychology all this might well point to a weakness in ego development. This would be in agreement with my suggestions in the preceding chapters, that it is precisely in the realm of ego development that the Atimelang child suffers the greatest handicaps and receives the least encouragement. The rewards are few and meager in childhood as well as in adult life. Men want to be rich; they may have the drive, but more than drive is necessary for successful accomplishment. Consistent training and the assurance of reward (or penalty) are essential to learning. These two factors are largely absent. It is not astonishing, therefore, that so many men accept the

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

159 got another. But I shot two only. I was still small and had borrowed the bow. The others had many.

The next day about twenty of us went out again. I got the first one that day, but it was the only one I did get. The others didn't get many either, but we saw a green snake and shot it. The adults frightened the children with it. Manefani said we had better return to the village. [Question.] Neither father nor my older brother was along, but Manefani was in my Male House II and I called him father. We used our rats for the Kuya feast, and after that we didn't hunt any more.

When I was about fifteen, I built a house. It was just a small one that I had to crawl into. I had a small fireplace and slept there at night. One night someone struck the door. I thought it was an enemy and cried and cried. Then I saw it was just Maugata, who was trying to frighten me. I ran and slept with mother and father. Their house was only about a hundred and fifty yards away. The next morning I broke down my small house and burned it. Where the house had been I planted sweet potatoes. Many grew there. I went to dig and roast them whenever I was hungry. I planted sun corn there and between it the slower growing rain corn. Sweet potatoes too were plentiful. When I cut the sun corn, the rain corn was already in blossom. Then the rain corn ripened.

After a time I left this garden and went to Maletai. I was building a house there. One day while my wife was down in the ravine, I came back and saw that our house had burned down. I built another house there. At this time the people of Mainang were at war. Their enemies, the Kafoi people, came looking for people to kill. They found no one in the gardens, so they burned our house, thinking it belonged to the enemy. After that I said there was no use making houses any more since [342] people just burned them, and we had better go sleep in a rock shelter. So we lived there in a rock shelter for two years. We kept pigs there. 159 Fanalurka was building a lineage house. He came and shot my pig. My 423 wife, Fungalani, saw it and called me. I was very angry. I said, "My wife 685 is alone here and you come kill my pig. Maybe you want to sleep with my wife also?" I went to the mandur of File and he gave me a pig. Then the mandur came to litigate against Fanalurka, to make him pay for the pig I had got from him. [This is an attempt to combine the older kalukek system with the new litigation system. Mangma and the mandur both thought they could get a higher price from the killer of the pig in this way.] But when we went to the chief of Karieta, he said he knew nothing about this and that it was my fault. I had to return the pig to the mandur and pay a fine of one rupiah and one small pig. Then

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

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RICE COMES FURNISHED BY THE HOST IN A HOUSE BUILDING FEAST

583
482
415
291
342
431

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE WIFE'S FAMILY IN A DOWRY FEAST

[FACING p. 296]

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OFS Alor OFS

Three meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually conscious and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and mistrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriages, Azimelungers average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the larger experiences of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village tutelary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of ancestors who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, *are* all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or sulpa[1] must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

[1] Metal kettle drums used as currency.

3: DuBois OF5 Alor
291, 342, 426, 436, 476, 482, 584

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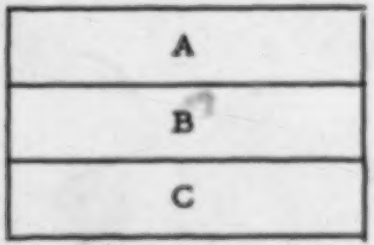

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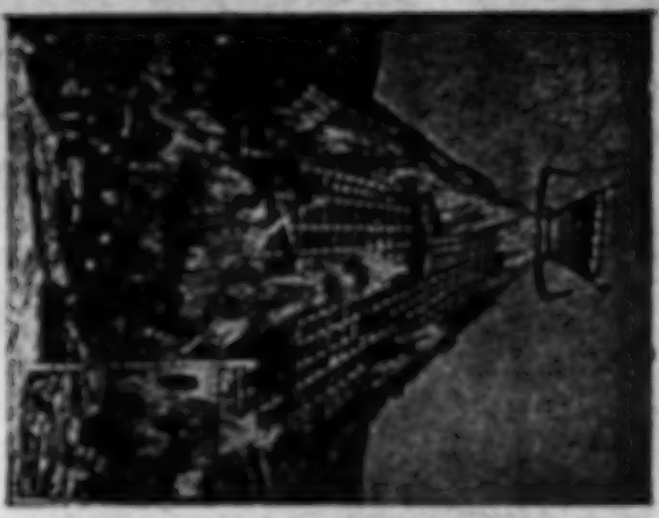

Срока 87